

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-02 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01
PRS-01 DOE-11 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08 NRC-05
OMB-01 TRSE-00 /162 W
-----018447 260348Z /41

P R 260157Z JAN 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9229
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 0243

GENEVA FOR CTB AND CCD DELS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, IO
SUBJECT: UNSSOD PREPCOM IV: BARTON GROUP CONSIDERATION OF WESTERN
DRAFT PROGRAM OF ACTION

REF: USUN 217

1. SUMMARY: BARTON GROUP MET WEDNESDAY MORNING JANUARY 25
FOR THREE-HOUR EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON WESTERN DRAFT PROGRAM
OF ACTION (TRANSMITTED REFTEL). WHILE NOT RESOLVING ALL
OUTSTANDING DISAGREEMENTS AMONG MEMBERS, THERE WAS IN-DEPTH
SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF ISSUES WE FACE IN COMING DRAFTING
EXERCISE IN PREPCOM IV. FULL GROUP MANDATED WORKING
GROUP TO COME UP WITH NEW LANGUAGE ON SEVERAL TOPICS, AND
TO CONSIDER VARIOUS VIEWS EXPRESSED BY DELEGATIONS ON
OTHERS, IN AN ATTEMPT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON TEXT WHICH
COULD BE TABLED BY NUMBER OF WESTERN COUNTRIES EARLY NEXT
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WEEK. FRANCE WAS ONLY COUNTRY TO EXPRESS GENERAL RESER-
VATION ON ENTIRE TEXT. US AGAIN INDICATED IT DID NOT
PLAN TO JOIN IN TABLING TEXT. END SUMMARY.

2. IN INTRODUCTORY GENERAL COMMENTS, FRG TOOK EXCEPTION
TO REFERENCES TO QTE QUALITATIVE UNQTE ASPECTS OF
ARMS RACE IN PART I, GENERAL, AND PART II, ALTERNATIVE

ONE, UNDER MEASURES OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT (I) NUCLEAR. FRANCE EXPRESSED IT GENERAL RESERVATION ON THE PAPER AS A WHOLE, PROBABLY IN LIGHT OF ITS FORTH-COMING INITIATIVE. USREP (WEILER) SAID FAILURE TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO QTE QUALITATIVE UNQTE ASPECTS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT WOULD MAKE DOCUMENT LESS THAN COMPLETE. US ALSO RAISED QUESTION OF WHETHER DRAFT SHOULD HIGHLIGHT GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT (GCD) AS PRIMARY GOAL IN PAPER ADDRESSED TO A SHORT-TERM PROGRAM OF ACTION, WITHOUT SOME DISTINCTION BETWEEN GCD AND INTERMEDIATE STEPS ALONG THE WAY AND BEYOND IMMEDIATE NEXT STEPS, PARTICULARLY IF WE WANTED DOCUMENT TO REFLECT REALITIES AND TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. ITALY SAID IT HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT SECTIONS ON NON-PROLIFERATION, QTE QUALITATIVE UNQTE ASPECTS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT, NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES, AND PROPOSED STUDY OF UN PEACE-KEEPING AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. NEW ZEALAND REP EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THERE WAS NO REFERENCE TO QTE PRIORITIES FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, UNQTE IN INTRODUCTORY SECTION. IT WAS HIS OPINION THAT THIS WAS ESSENTIAL FOR PROGRAM AND PHRASE SHOULD BE RESURRECTED FROM PREVIOUS UK DRAFT, AND THAT PRIORITY FOR COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN BE CLEARLY STATED.

3. NUCLEAR ISSUES. GROUP DISCUSSED TWO ALTERNATIVE
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FORMULATIONS RELATING TO STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS; FIRST EMPHASIZING QTE QUALITATIVE UNQTE AS WELL AS QTE CTITATIVE UNQTE DIMENSIONS AND PROGRESSIVE REDUCTION OF NUMBERS AND RESTRAINT ON QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENTS; AND SECOND STRESSING NEED FOR PROGRESS ON SALT II BY US AND USSR AND OMITTING REFERENCE TO QUALITATIVE LIMATIONS. NORWAY, AUSTRALIA, CANADA, AND US INDICATED PREFERENCE FOR ALTERNATIVE ONE, AND UK AND FRG FOR ALTERNATIVE TWO. AUSTRALIANS, WHO HAD HAND IN DRAFTING ALTERNATIVE ONE, SAID PRIVATELY TO USDEL THAT THEY WOULD PRESS HARD FOR ITS RETENTION AND, WERE GRATIFIED BY US RECOGNITION OF NEED FOR STATEMENT ON QTE QUALITATIVE UNQTE ASPECTS. UKDEL SAID IT WOULD ATTEMPT TO COMBINE TWO ALTERNATIVES.

4. SEVERAL DELS OBJECTED TO FACT THAT CTB PARAGRAPH HAD BEEN DEMOTED TO SECOND PLACE BEHIND STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS, ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF GOOD CHANCES FOR EARLY PROGRESS. THERE WAS ALSO SOME CONCERN THAT CTB PARAGRAPH DID NOT REFLECT PROGRESS BEING MADE IN TRIPARTITE WORKING GROUP IN GENEVA.

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TRSE-00 /162 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USUN 0243

GENEVA FOR CTB AND CCD DELS

5. CUT-OFF. CUT-OFF PROPOSAL (FOURTH TIC UNDER I.)
GAVE FRANCE QTE GREAT PROBLEMS UNQTE. FRG INDICATED
THAT IT MIGHT BE PREMATURE TO RAISE ISSUE AT THIS TIME.
JAPAN WELCOMED CUT-OFF PROVISION BUT SAID PERHAPS IT
COULD BE PUT IN LOWER PRIORITY FOR NEXT STEP MEASURES.
USREP SAID HE DID NOT HAVE INSTRUCTIONS ADDRESSED
TO CUT-OFF PROPOSAL, BUT SINCE PAPER WOULD BE SUB-
MITTED IN NAME OF OTHER GOVERNMENT THAN US AND IN
LIGHT OF FACT THAT FOUR PREVIOUS US ADMINISTRATIONS
HAD PROPOSED CUT-OFF, UNLESS SUBSEQUENTLY INSTRUCTED
OTHERWISE, HE DID NOT INTEND TO ENTER OBJECTION TO ITS
INCLUSION. HE NOTED THAT NON-ALIGNED HAD CUT-OFF
PROPOSAL IN THEIR PROGRAM OF ACTION AND THAT SOVIETS
WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY PRESS THEIR MORE SWEEPING PROPOSAL FOR
CESSATION OF PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND RAISED
QUESTION OF WHETHER A WESTERN DRAFT SHOULD BE WITHOUT
SOME PEG ON WHICH TO HANG THIS GENERAL TOPIC FOR FUTURE
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DISCUSSION. BRITISH INDICATED THEY HAD SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN RETAINING CUT-OFF REFERENCE. ASHE (UK) TOLD WEILER (USREP) LATER BRITISH WOULD TABLE PAPER, WHETHER OTHERS JOINED THEM OR NOT, AND THAT IT WOULD NOT CONTAIN CUT-OFF PROVISION. HE SAID POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS IN LONDON REQUIRED THAT UK TABLE PAPER.

6. NON-PROLIFERATION. ON NON-PROLIFERATION SECTION USREP WELCOMED STRENGTHENING OF THIS SECTION. HE COMMENTED THAT PHRASE: QTE THE MAJOR NUCLEAR SUPPLIER STATES HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS REGARD, UNQTE MIGHT RAISE A RED FLAG TO NON-ALIGNED. ITALY AND FRG EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ABOUT LANGUAGE ON QTE...GIVING AN INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER TO APPROPRIATE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE OPERATIONS AND OF AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME FOR THE CONTROL OF PLUTONIUM IN CIVIL NUCLEAR PROGRAMS. UNQTE BOTH ALSO QUESTIONED REFERENCE TO QTE MORE PROLIFERATION RESISTANT NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGIES UNQTE. CANADA, ON THE OTHER HAND, BELIEVED SECTION SHOULD BE ACTION-ORIENTED, AND FELT SAFEGUARDS SECTION SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED. US AND AUSTRALIA BOTH EXPRESSED VIEW THAT ENDORSEMENT OF INFCE SHOULD BE INCLUDED, TO WHICH THERE APPEARED TO BE NO OBJECTION.

7. SECURITY ASSURANCES. USREP NOTED THAT NON-ALIGNED HAVE ACCEPTED WHOLE CLOTH SOVIET (KISYGIN) FORMULA OF NON-USE AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR STATES WHICH DO NOT HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATIONED ON THEIR TERRITORY. SECRETARIAT TABULATION WILL SHOW AGREEMENT BY NAM AND EASTERN BLOC ON THIS FORMULA. WEILER SAID TACTICAL QUESTION WAS WHAT ALTERNATIVE PEG WEST SHOULD HAVE TO FILL POTENTIAL GAP. UK SUGGESTED ONE POSSIBILITY, WHICH MOST AT TABLE COULD AGREE TO, WOULD BE TATELOLCO
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FORMULA FOR NUCLEAR FREE ZONES; THIS WOULD PUT SOVIETS ON THE SPOT RE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. FRG AND ITALY HAD RESERVATIONS ABOUT INCLUDING REFERENCE TO NEGATIVE SECURITY ASSURANCES AT ALL. UK ADMITTED IT IS LOOKING CLOSELY AT THIS AS A POTENTIAL INITIATIVE FOR SSOD. GROUP RECOGNIZED THAT IF LANGUAGE WERE TOO SPECIFIC IT WOULD BE INADEQUATE FOR CERTAIN NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WHILE IF TEXT IS TOO SWEEPING IT WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT TO GAIN WIDE WESTERN SUPPORT. FRG SAID ONE TACTIC MIGHT BE TO POINT OUT THAT RUSSIAN FORMULA IS DIRECTED AGAINST NATO, AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT PERHAPS WEST COULD FIND FORMULA EQUALLY ACCEPTABLE TO NON-ALIGNED, WHILE PRESERVING NATO INTERESTS.

8. CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS (II, SMALL ROMAN FOUR), TIC ONE,

JAPAAAN POINTED OUT PROBLEM WITH REFERENCE TO QTE PRODUCTION
UNQTE RESTRICTIONS. CANDAD, SUPPORTED BY NUMEROUS
DELS, SAID THAT NON-ALIGNED WOULD NOT TOUCH
SECTION ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS WITHOUT
REFERENCE TO PRODUCTION. USREP SUGGESTED THAT REFERENCE
TO QTE AND ARMED FORCES UNQTE SHOULD BE MADE IN TITLE
OF SUBSECTION AND AT END OF FIRST SUB-PARAGRAPH. FRG,
SUPPORTED BY FRANCE, OBJECTED TO EXPLICIT MBFR
REFERENCE AND SUGGESTED INSTEAD VAGUE FURMULA OMITTING SPECIFIC
LANGUAGE ON QTE LIMITING UNQTE OR QTE REDUCING UNQTE
ARMAMENTS. UK RESPONDED THAT IT COULD NOT ACCEPT FRG
FORMULA, AND SUGGESTED INSTEAD REFERENCE TO MBFR NEGOTIATIONS
BY ITS OFFICIAL TITLE (AS CURRENT DRAFT DOES) SIMPLY AS
AN EXAMPLE OF PROPOSED REGIONAL DISCUSSIONS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 0243

GENEVA FOR CTB AND CCD DELS

9. MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND
CONFIDENCE III. US AND FRG SUGGESTED THAT SUBPARA
ROMAN TWO ADD REFERENCE TO CCD WORK ON COMPREHENSIVE
PROGRAM ON DISARMAMENT (OFFICIAL NAME FOR CNP WORKING
GROUP ACCORDING TO BRITISH REP). USREP POINTED OUT THAT
NON-ALIGNED PROGRAM PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT AT THE UN OF
VIRTUAL EQUIVALENT TO ECOSOC ON DISARMAMENT TO WORK ON
COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM AND SAID WE SHOULD NOT PULL RUG

OUT FROM UNDER CURRENT CCD ACTIVITY.

10. MILITARY R AND D. SMALL ROMAN FIVE, UNDER SECTION III, USREP SAID WORDING WAS UNCLEAR. UK INDICATED THAT PURPOSE OF CONVOLUTED LANGUAGE WAS TO FIND WAY TO PRESERVE WESTERN LEAD IN R AND D BUT ALSO ASSURE THAT WESTERN AND OTHER R AND D ACTIVITIES NOT COMPLICATE ARMS CONTROL. AUSTRALIA SAID TEXT ATTEMPTED TO PLACE SOME POLITICAL RESTRAINTS ON R AND D FOR MILITARY PURPOSES WHILE ALSO ASKING CONFIDENTIAL

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STATES TO EVALUATE NEW R AND D PROGRAMS TO MAKE THEM CONSISTENT WITH OBLIGATIONS UNDER EXISTING AGREEMENTS. WORKING GROUP WILL SEEK TO FORMULATE MORE PRECISE LANGUAGE.

11. STUDIES. ON FINAL SECTION (IV) MOST DISCUSSION CENTERED ON FRG OBJECTION TO WORDING OF CBM STUDY PROPOSAL (SMALL ROMAN FIVE) WHICH SINGLED OUT REFERENCES TO QTE DEMILITARIZED ZONES, ZONES OF LIMITED FORCES, UNQTE AS EXAMPLES OF QTE TECHNICAL MEASURES UNQTE BECAUSE OF POTENTIAL APPLICATION TO CENTRAL EUROPE. UK SAID IT DID NOT BELIEVE THIS COULD BE CONTENTIOUS ITEM, SINCE SEVERAL SUCH ZONES ALREADY EXISTED (E.G. SINAI). SINCE OTHER DRAFTS DID NOT MENTION IMPORTANT CBM MEASURES, UK THOUGHT THIS WAS THEREFORE CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF WESTERN DRAFT. USREP SUGGESTED ADDITION OF WORDING TO EFFECT: QTE WHICH STATES AS APPROPRIATE COULD MAKE USE OF UNQTE IN SENSE OF BECOMING PART OF MACHINERY OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY WHICH HAS NOT BEEN FULLY EXPLORED.

12. BARTON GROUP REQUESTED DRAFTING BODY TO CONTINUE REVISIONS OF DRAFT TEXT BASED ON THESE COMMENTS. DRAFTING BODY WILL HAVE TEXT READY ON JANUARY 27 FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION BY FULL GROUP. HOPE IS THAT SEVERAL COUNTRIES CAN SUBMIT IT AS DRAFT WORKING PAPER NEXT WEEK.

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Message Attributes

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Draft Date: 26 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Subject: UNSSOD PREPCOM IV: BARTON GROUP CONSIDERATION OF WESTERN DRAFT PROGRAM OF ACTION
TAGS: PARM, PCAT, PORG, UNSSOD
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